

The Classical Weekly

JAN 7 1937

Published on Monday, October 1 to May 31, except in weeks in which there is a legal or School holiday (Election Day, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Lincoln's Birthday, Washington's Birthday, Easter Sunday, Decoration Day). Place of Publication, Barnard College, New York City. In the United States of America, \$2.00 per volume; elsewhere \$2.50. Single numbers, 15 cents each. Address all communications to Charles Knapp, at 1737 Sedgwick Avenue, New York City. Entered as second-class matter, November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized June 28, 1918.

VOLUME XXIV, No. 10

MONDAY, JANUARY 5, 1931

WHOLE NO. 647

Make your sequence an Ullman and Henry one

with

THIRD LATIN BOOK

By ULLMAN, HENRY and WHITE

It carries on the
excellence which is
making

ELEMENTARY LATIN

NEW ELEMENTARY
LATIN

SECOND LATIN BOOK

SECOND LATIN BOOK
(REVISED)

triumphant in the
field of Secondary
School Latin

The new member of the

MACMILLAN
CLASSICAL
SERIES

B. L. ULLMAN
General Editor

THIRD Latin Book diverges from the usual Ciceronian diet given Latin students in the third year. Here is a wealth of material from classical literature suited in subject and difficulty to students of this level. It has been selected to develop maximum facility in reading the language, together with maximum appreciation of Roman life and culture.

Contents

CAESAR'S CIVIL WAR (SELECTIONS)	SENECA (SELECTIONS)
PLINY AND GELLIUS (SE- LECTIONS)	MACROBIUS AND QUINTI- LIAN (SELECTIONS)
PETRONIUS (SELECTIONS)	CICERO AND SALLUST (SELECTIONS)
	OVID'S METAMORPHOSES

Ingeniously combined with the reading material are vocabulary drills, syntax, and word-studies, making unnecessary the use of a separate Grammar.

Beautifully illustrated in color, and in black and white half-tones. \$2.20

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

New York Boston Chicago Dallas Atlanta San Francisco

5300 *Schools now use*

LATIN
FOR
TODAY



Again, Gray and Jenkins's Latin for Today breaks all bounds! The 1930 count reveals more than 5300 Schools using the First-Year Course, or the Second-Year Course, or both... Such an amazing popularity should be a significant one to every teacher of Latin.

Ginn and Company

Boston

New York

Chicago

Atlanta

Dallas

Columbus

San Francisco

The Classical Weekly

VOLUME XXIV, No. 10

MONDAY, JANUARY 5, 1931

WHOLE NO. 647

VERGIL AND THE ROMAN FORUM

(Concluded from page 68)

Leading north from our present position, the Via Bonella affords a view through the site of the Julian Forum and beyond, to the huge columns of the Temple of Mars Ultor, in the Forum of Augustus. This route to the Forum (the Via Bonella turns into the Via Salara Vecchia on the right) is particularly felicitous, since it calls our attention in advance to the very men about whom the monuments in the Forum are most eloquent—Julius Caesar and Augustus. Of the two, the more prominent is Augustus, who brought to completion most of the works begun or planned by his adoptive father. So, in the Aeneid, Vergil makes Augustus stand out as the man who brings to full fruition the great glories of the Julian line. In a word, the message of architectural symbolism is repeated on the lips of the poet.

On entering the Forum itself, one is confronted by monuments that are prevailingly Augustan in level and general orientation. But there is also the testimony of earlier and later periods. Dr. Esther Van Deman points¹⁰ to the evidence for a Forum of Julius Caesar beneath that of Augustus. Its level, 12.60 meters above sea level, which was the same as that of the Augustan at the east end of the Forum, was apparently maintained without any provision for draining. This Julian work includes the *cuniculi* (underground corridors running east and west through the Forum), together with the travertine slabs lining the openings into the shafts, marble pavements (at some points 70 centimeters below the Augustan pavement), found by the excavators especially between the Lacus Curtius and the Basilica Iulia, and the travertine blocks on the Lacus Curtius.

The name of Julius Caesar was associated with four important structures in the Forum: the Basilica Iulia, the Curia Iulia, the Templum Divi Iuli, and the Rostra of Julius Caesar, which was incorporated in that of Augustus. The concrete of Caesar's Curia is clearly visible beneath the work of Augustus and Diocletian. The Templum Divi Iuli, standing on the very spot where Caesar's body was burned, can still speak about Caesar to us, as it did to the Romans, in the eloquent phrases of Antony (Dio Cassius 44.49: I give the passage in Earnest Cary's translation, in The Loeb Classical Library, 4.397, 399):

"Yet this father, this high priest, this inviolable being, this hero and god, is dead, alas, dead not by the violence of some disease, nor wasted by old age, nor wounded abroad somewhere in some war, nor caught up inexplicably by some supernatural force, but right here within the walls as a result of a plot—the man who

had safely led an army into Britain; ambushed in this city—the man who had enlarged its pomerium; murdered in the senate-house—the man who had reared another such edifice at his own expense; unarmed—the brave warrior; defenceless—the promoter of peace; the judge—beside the court of justice; the magistrate—beside the seat of government; at the hands of the citizens—he¹¹ whom none of the enemy had been able to kill even when he fell into the sea; at the hands of his comrades—he who had often taken pity on them. Of what avail, O Caesar, was your humanity, of what avail your inviolability, of what avail the laws? Nay, though you enacted many laws that men might not be killed by their personal foes, yet how mercilessly you yourself were slain by your friends! And now, the victim of assassination, you lie dead in the Forum through which, crowned, you often led the triumph crowned¹²; wounded to death, you have been cast upon the rostra from which you often addressed the people. Woe for the blood-besprattered locks of gray, alas for the rent robe, which you assumed, it seems, only that you might be slain in it!"

As was stated above, the Forum is preeminently a glorification of Augustus. The general level of the streets of *selce* slabs, the central pavement of travertine, the arrangement and the actual materials of most of the surrounding monuments must all be assigned to Augustan building activity. The materials easiest to recognize in Augustan structures are the dusky red mortar, brown Anio stone, travertine, and occasionally some Luna marble. The semicircular enclosure in front of the Aedes Divi Iuli, the Rostra Augusti, the Templum Castoris, and the Aedes Concordiae Augustae can be cited as examples. In the Monumentum Ancyranum, Augustus states that he rebuilt or restored eighty-two temples. His simple account of accomplishments it is interesting to compare with the transfigured glory of his *res gestae* in the monuments of stone or verse. For example, he writes (§ 2):

... Qui parentem meum interfecerunt, eos in exsilium expuli, iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus, et postea bellum inferientis rei publicae vici bis acie.

How different is the story as told by the Temple of Mars Ultor or by the verses of Ovid (*Fasti* 5.551–554):

Ultor ad ipse suos caelo descendit honores
templaque in Augusto conspicienda Foro.
Et deus est ingens, et opus: debebat in Urbe
non aliter nati Mars habitare sui.

Of the buildings he constructed Augustus says in part (Monumentum Ancyranum 19–21)¹³:

Curiam et continens ei Chalcidicum, templumque Apollinis in Palatio cum porticibus, aedem divi Iuli, Lupercal... aedes in Capitolio Iovis Feretri et Iovis Tonantis... aedem Larum in summa Sacra Via, aedem deum Penatium in Velia, aedem Inuentatis, aedem Matris Magnae in Palatio feci.

¹⁰This passage is reproduced here exactly. C. K. >

¹¹For the Monumentum Ancyranum see my notice, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 18.169–170, of a translation of this work, by Professor F. W. Shipley (I give an account of three editions of the Monumentum Ancyranum. One of these, by E. G. Hardy, is reviewed in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 18.179–180 by Professor W. L. Westermann. C. K. >.

Capitolium et Pompeium theatrum utrumque opus impensa grandi refeci sine ulla inscriptione nominis mei. . . . Forum Iulium, et basilicam quae fuit inter aedem Castoris et aedem Saturni, copta profligataque opera a patre meo, perfeci et eandem basilicam consumptam incendio ampliato eius solo sub titulo nominis filiorum meorum incohavi, et, si vivus non perfecsem, perfici ab heredibus iussi. . . .

In privato solo Martis Ultoris templum forumque Augustum ex manib[us] feci. Theatrum ad aedem Apollinis in solo magna ex parte a privatis empto feci, quod sub nomine M. Marcelli generi mei esset. Dona ex manib[us] in Capitolio et in aede divi Iuli et in aede Apollinis et in aede Vestae et in templo Martis Ultoris consacravi. . . .

But the gleaming temples with all their grandeur, with all their wealth of artistic symbolism, said a great deal more than is contained in these cold, terse notes of Augustus's 'diary'. They told of Augustan piety, Augustan power, Augustan peace and prosperity. Only the poetry of a Vergil could sustain the lofty theme, only the language of poetry could reveal quite fully the meaning of the man and his age. Note here Jupiter's own prophecy (1. 286-296), repeated by Anchises in the underworld (6. 788-807).

Even while he was writing the Georgics at Naples, Vergil began his glorification of Augustus as victor, savior, god among men (Georgics 4. 559-564):

Haec super arborum cultu pecorumque canebam
et super arboribus, Caesar dum magnus ad altum
fulminat Euphraten bello victorque volentis
per populos dat iura viamque adfectat Olympo.
Ilo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat
Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis oti. . . .

Compare also Georgics 1. 24-42.

In describing the shield of Aeneas, Vergil paints his most ambitious picture of Augustus. In reading these verses we should reflect that there were features and symbols in the decorative scheme of the Augustan Forum to remind the Roman of all that Vergil here narrates. See 8. 671-728.

The Forum, however, was more than a monument to Caesar and Augustus. It presented to the Roman mind an impressive accumulation of personal associations that were deeply hallowed by the tradition of centuries. Foremost among these personalities was Romulus, traditional founder of the Roman citadel, father of the Roman race. Statues of Romulus and Titus Tatius no longer stand at either end of the Sacra Via, nor can a miraculous fig-tree be seen in the Comitium. But, where the Comitium joins the northern edge of the Forum, there are still in evidence the Lapis Niger and adjacent monuments, which appear to have been venerated as the tomb of Romulus, or of Hostilius. At the eastern end of the Sacra Via, close to the Porta Mugonia, are, probably, remains of the restored Temple of Iuppiter Stator, which M. Atilius Regulus built in 294 B. C. on the spot where, tradition said, Romulus vowed a shrine to Juppiter Stator, when the Romans had been driven in flight across the Forum by the Sabines. In Vergil the luster of this tradition fortunately remains undimmed (6. 777-787, 8. 628-645).

On the north side of the Forum, close to the Curia, stood the 'Temple' of Janus (sometimes called Portae Belli), of which no remains have been found. A coin of

Nero, however, preserves for us a picture of the bronze structure. Only in time of peace were the gates of the 'temple' closed.¹² To one of these rare periods (after the Battle of Actium) Vergil refers in 1. 291-296. But the warlike Romans rejoiced in their descent from Mars, and the Forum was filled with monuments that redounded to the glory of Mars, whether it chanced to be a statue of a victor, a *columna rostrata*, the decoration of a basilica, or the beaks of ships captured at Antium or at Actium. No wonder that the workshops of Vulcan were concerned with the theme (8. 433-434):

Parte alia Marti currumque rotasque volucris
instabant, quibus ille viros, quibus excitat urbes. . . .

No wonder that Mars Ultor could take over distinctions previously enjoyed by Iuppiter Optimus Maximus. Jupiter himself speaks at length of the children of Mars (1. 272-285). Rome, exalted mistress of a world-empire, recorded her victories, honored her heroes in the mute yet eloquent testimony of the Forum. Vergil, poet and prophet of his people, pays his tribute to valor in the patriotic flow and fervor of his verses (1. 21-22, 4. 622-629, 6. 814-815, 841-846, 855-859).

It is appropriate to turn next to the Regia, since it contained a *Sacarium Martis*, and had inscribed on its south and west walls the *Fasti Consulares* and the *Fasti Triumphales*. According to tradition the residence of Numa, the Regia became the office of the Pontifex Maximus. The cappellaccio blocks that can be easily distinguished in the south *podium*-wall are said to date from the Regia of the regal period. The yellow Etruscan (Servian Wall) stone in the rear wall of the *podium* and the pavement (in the north chamber) of Monte Verde slabs (a dull brown tufa distinguished by small green flakes and veins of a lime deposit) seem to belong to the rebuilding of 148 B. C. The marble temple built by Calvinus in 36 B. C. followed essentially the same lines as the earlier structures. Fragments of the panels on which the lists of consuls and triumphs were inscribed can be seen in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. Vergil, who had, we may suppose, often been impressed by these *fasti* on the walls of the Regia, reproduces, so to speak, on the shield of Aeneas what he had noted in the marble memorials (8. 626-629)¹²:

Ilic res Italas Romanorumque triumphos
haud vatum ignarus venturique inscius aevi
fecerat Ignipotens, illic genus omne futurae
stirpis ab Ascanio pugnataque in ordine bella.

The impressive list of triumphs calls to mind such a scene as Anchises presented to Aeneas in the underworld (6. 808-823). Within the Regia were kept the sacred shields and spears, books of ritual, archives of the pontifices. In this connection we recall part of Vergil's description of the Shield of Aeneas (8. 663-666):

Hic exultantis Salios, nudosque Lupercos,
lanigerosque apices, et lapsa ancilia caelo
extuderat; castae ducebant sacra per urbem
pilentis matres in mollibus.

¹²Reference may be made here to a very suggestive article, entitled 'A Roman "Hall of Fame", by Stephen A. Hurlbut, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13. 162-168. It deals in a very interesting way with parts of Aeneid 6. C. K. >

Like the Regia, the adjoining Temple of Vesta was assigned by tradition to the enterprise of Numa. The importance and the sacred character of the spot are implied in the verses of Vergil (*Georgics* 1. 498-499),

Vestaque mater,
quae Tuscum Tiberim et Romana Palatia servas,
and in the verse of Ovid (*Tristia* 3.1.29),

Hic locus est Vestae, qui Pallada servat et ignem.

The Regia, the Templum Vestae, and the Atrium Vestae are all referred to indirectly in the famous lines of Horace (*Carmina* 3. 30. 7-9):

usque ego posteram
crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium
scandet cum tacita virgine Pontifex.

Professor Tenney Frank¹³ makes the interesting conjecture that the narrow conduits, usually of Monte Verde tufa, that are to be found here and there in the Forum were constructed to carry away from altars the blood of victims slain in sacrifice. Such drains can be seen in the remains of the Regia, in front of the Regia, north of the Atrium Vestae (near the Domus Publica), and on the Sacra Via to the east of the old sepulcretum (in front of the modern store-room). Concerning the drain in front of the Temple of Saturn Professor Frank writes¹⁴:

... The vaulted passage-way gave space enough for workmen to keep the channel in repair, which must be provided for, since the cappellaccio was not strong. The vault of this drain is probably one of the oldest in existence in Rome, for not only is it made of cappellaccio but the tunnel is here of the same material, whereas those of the second century B. C. are usually of Monte Verde tufa. This drain probably belongs to the fourth century B. C. We seem then to have at this point the old altar of the original Saturn temple....

Remains of cappellaccio altars can be identified at several points in the Forum, but the mere existence of altar-drains is sufficient to remind us how important an element in Roman public life was the Roman ritual of sacrifice. Whoever visits the Forum without recalling this point misses much that is characteristically Roman. Vergil, however, can evoke for us ideally the ritualistic and reverential mood (5. 71-81, 94-103, 1. 415-417, 8. 639-641, 541-545).

Much of Roman ritual came from the Etruscans, who have left, as reminders of their occupation, the famous sixth-century stele of Grotto Oscura (yellow Etruscan) tufa (under the Lapis Niger), the cappellaccio foundations of the Temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus, the Vicus Tuscus, named from the artisans brought to build this temple, and the orientation (toward the East) of such early structures as the Regia and the Temple of Vesta. Nor is Vergil silent about the Etruscans (8. 478-482, 494-496, 503-506, 646-648).

Also a part of the tradition of Rome's early beginnings was the story of Juturna, sister of Turnus, whose memory was kept ever fresh by her fount (*lacus*) at the foot of the Palatine. For her story see especially 12. 869-886. Juturna and her brother are represented in relief on the marble altar in front of the Aedicula Iuturnae, just to the south of the fountain.

¹³Roman Buildings of the Republic, in Papers and Monographs of the American School in Rome, 3.52-53. <See THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 23.35-38. C. K.>

¹⁴Ibidem.

But enough of details. Let us ascend the Palatine and look upon the Forum as a whole. Claudian (*De Sexto Consulatu Honorii* 35-52) will stimulate our imagination¹⁵:

... Surely no other seat <than the Palatine> were fit abode for those who rule the world; on no <other> hill is Government more conscious of its worth, or feels more deeply the pride of supreme power. Rearing aloft its crown, with the Rostra far below, the royal power looks forth upon countless sanctuaries and countless sentinel gods encircling it. How fair a sight, to behold yonder beneath the gable of Thundering Jove the graven temple doors and their Giants in space above the Tarpeian Rock, to look upon statues soaring amid the clouds, and upon the high air dense with thronging temples, and everywhere the terrain a forest of columns adorned with beaks from many a conquered ship, and palaces reposing on foundations mountain-high which the hands of man have up-reared, adding still to Nature, and arches unnumbered, rich with glittering spoils of war! The eye is blinded and bewildered by flashing metal and the gleam of gold on every hand.

Not always, nevertheless, was the Forum an edifying and inspiring sight. It was the place where gathered the crowded, seething mob¹⁶. It was the place where orators harangued a noisy throng. Probably it was this aspect of it that influenced Vergil as he sang the happy lot of the farmer, in a passage that is all the more pertinent here because of its allusions to Cinna, Marius, Sulla, Catiline, Lucullus, Crassus, Hortensius, Cicero, and Pompey (*Georgics* 2. 493-512):

Fortunatus et ille, deos qui novit agrestis,
Panaque, Silvanumque senem, Nymphasque sorores.
Illum non populi fasces, non purpura regum
flexit et infidos agitans discordia fratres,
aut coniurato descendens Dacus ab Histro,
non res Romanae perituraque regna, neque ille
aut doluit miserans inopem aut invidit habentis.
Quos rami fructus, quos ipsa volentia rura
sponte tulere sua carpsit, nec ferrea iura
insanumque forum aut populi tabularia vidit.
Sollicitant alii remis freta caeca, ruuntque
in ferrum, penetrant aulas et limina regum;
hic petit excidiis urbem miserisque penatis,
ut gemma bibat et Sarrano dormiat ostro;
condit opes alias defossoque incubat auro;
hic stupet attonitus rostris; hunc plausus hiantem
per cuneos germinatus enim plebisque patrumque
corripuit; gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum,
exsilique domos et dulcia limina mutant
atque alio patriam quaerunt sub sole iacentem.

Every phase of life in the Forum seems to be reflected in the verses of Vergil. If the Forum in all its architectural splendor symbolized the greatness and the grandeur of Rome, Vergil has made that glory perennial. Marble shaft and gleaming temple have fallen into ruins, but Vergil has erected a monument more enduring than bronze or marble. Thanks to the poet and seer, scarcely an age has doubted the immortality of Rome. Several years after the death of Vergil, a chorus of young men and maidens sang, on Palatine and Capitoline, in Horace's Carmen Saeculare, verses 9-12:

¹⁵I give this passage in the translation by Professor Grant Showerman. I found the translation in a book entitled Classical Associations of Places in Italy, 365, by Frances E. Sabin (privately published, at Madison, Wisconsin, in 1921). <The additions in angular brackets to the quotation are mine. The words "every where the terrain...ship" are given exactly as they appear in the original. The passage may be found in The Loeb Classical Library translation of Claudian, by Maurice Platnauer: see 2.77, 79. C. K. >

¹⁶See Aeneid 1.148-156, with my notes, especially on 154-156. C. K. >

Alme Sol, curru nitido diem qui
promis et celas aliasque et idem
nasceris, possis nihil urbe Roma
visere maius!

In the fourth century Claudian addresses the 'City eternal as the sky' (De Bello Getico 52-56):

Surge, precor, veneranda parens, et certa secundis
fide deis, humilemque metum depone senectae,
urbs aequaeva polo. Tum demum ferrea sumet
ius in te Lachesis cum sic mutaverit axem
foederibus natura novis.

But, when Claudian wrote, the temples of the Forum stood gleaming with gold and metal. When Byron beheld this fair sight in ruins, he still could sing of a Roma (the Rome of Livy and Vergil) that would be Aeterna (Childe Harold's Pilgrimage):

Alas, the lofty city! and alas,
The trebly hundred triumphs! and the day
When Brutus made the dagger's edge surpass
The conqueror's sword in bearing fame away!
Alas, for Tully's voice, and Virgil's lay,
And Livy's pictured page!—But these shall be
Her resurrection; all beside—decay.

We of to-day have seen Rome aright, if we can exclaim, with the conviction of Samuel Rogers¹⁷, that Rome is the city which

Still o'er the mind maintains, from age to age,
Her empire undiminish'd.

AMHERST COLLEGE

HOMER F. REBERT

REVIEWS

Die Römischen Alpenstrassen über den Brenner, Reschen-Scheideck, und Plöckenpass, mit ihren Nebenlinien. Von Walther Cartellieri. Philologus, Supplementband XVIII, Heft I. Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung (1926). Pp. 186. 8 Plans.

During frequent visits to the Alps in the last twenty-five years I have walked over most of the great passes from France, Switzerland, and Austria into Italy, as well as over many of the lateral passes. In May, 1928, I crossed the oldest pass of all, the Brenner, by train; inclement weather and the absence of the grand scenery so characteristic of most of the passes made a foot-tour unattractive. The Brenner Pass, between the Central and the Eastern Alps, is now regarded as extending from Verona northward to Innsbruck, a distance of 172 miles and a railway journey of seven or eight hours. In antiquity its terminus was still further north, at Augusta Vindelicum, the present Augsburg, northwest of Munich, in Bavaria. The route follows several river valleys, those of the Adige or Etsch (the ancient Atagis, one of the deepest of all Alpine valleys), the Eisack or Isarco (the ancient Isarus), and the Sill. Today, as in antiquity, there is a succession of towns and villages along its entire course; there are nine on the actual pass itself in the narrow sense of the word, the stretch of twenty-seven and a half miles from Sterzing-Vipiteno (3110¹) to Matri (3258). The highest is the village of Brenner, which recalls Strabo's Breuni who lived hereabouts (from them the pass received its name). It lies twenty-five miles south of

Innsbruck and has an altitude of 4495 feet, which makes this pass the lowest of all the important transalpine routes; its altitude is less than half that of the highest, the Stelvio Pass (9055). I reached the pass fifty-seven miles north of Verona, at Trent (633), the Roman Tridentum, having come by train from Venice, ninety-eight miles away, via Bassano (425) and the Val Sugana, noted for its vineyards, mulberries, and pines (this valley extends for twenty-one miles from Tezze [755] to Levico [1663]), over a section of the ancient Via Claudia Augusta. I thus traversed part of that route as well as most of the Brenner Pass, two of the three passes with which the book under review is concerned.

Of the fifteen or more passes known to the Romans over the main chain of the Alps, which extends from the Ligurian coast-road along the Riviera in the West to the Alpis Iulia, from Aquileia through the Birnbauerwald to Emona (Laibach) in the East, these three formed an important group. Not only was the Brenner Pass among the oldest Alpine passes over which in prehistoric times many northern folk wandered southward into Italy, but all three passes in later times played a great rôle in the activities of the Romans in the Eastern Alps, especially in connection with the foundation and maintenance beyond them of the Province of Rhaetia. Moreover, these three routes are treated together in Dr. Cartellieri's book because with their tributaries they formed an organic unity, with the Brenner Pass as the center. This interrelationship is easily understood from a brief outline of the three main roads over them.

The Plöcken route, the chief eastern tributary of the Brenner, started both at Aquileia, on the Adriatic, and at Concordia, just to the west, and reached the Brenner at Franzensfeste-Fortezza (2451). It had two distinct sections, each with its separate history. One ran northward from Aquileia over the Plöcken Pass (4460) from Iulium Carnicum (Zuglio) to Loncium (Mauthen), and on to Aguntum (Debantbach, near Lienz); the other ran westward from the latter town through the long Tyrolean valley of Puster, which consists of the Upper Drave and Rienz valleys, via Littamum (Innichen) and Sebatum (Castle of Sonnenburg). At Franzensfeste the latter section merged with the Brenner, running northward to Veldidena (Wilten, near Innsbruck) and Augsburg. Of the three routes discussed by Dr. Cartellieri this was the shortest. The distance to Veldidena was 220 Roman miles (326 kilometers); there were nine Roman stations along the way. In antiquity, as to-day, this route played a relatively unimportant rôle; it was a connecting rather than an independent route, being always overshadowed by its eastern neighbor, the Via Iulia Augusta, which ran over the Pontebba Pass (2615) to the Carnic Alps and Virunum, the capital of the later province of Noricum.

The Via Claudia Augusta started at Altinum (Altino), a town midway between Verona and Aquileia, and situated on the Via Popilia, which was connected with the great Via Flaminia. It first ran northward to Feltria (Feltre, on the Piave), and thence westward through the Val Sugana to Trent, on the Brenner Pass.

¹⁷Expressed in I am in Rome.

¹Such figures as these give the height, in English feet.

Thence it followed the latter to Pons Drusi (near Bozen-Gries). There it left the Brenner Pass, to follow the Adige in a great curve to the northwest, via Maia (Mais-Merano) and the Vintschgau to Mals, and to go over the Reschen-Scheideck Pass (4900) to Landeck, on the Inn. Further along it crossed the Fern Pass (3970) to Foetibus (Füssen?), and continued northward to Abudiacum (Epfach) and Augsburg, finally reaching Submuntorium (near Druisheim), four miles south of the Danube (at Donauwörth). It was the longest of the three routes described, extending for 389 Roman miles (574 kilometers), and had seventeen Roman stations along its course. It was the main military road from Italy to Rhaetia for two centuries, down to the time of the Severi. The lower section of this route to its junction with the Brenner may be regarded as an eastern arm of the latter, balanced on the west by a shorter route reaching Trent from the Lacus Benacus (Lake Garda). The Plöcken-Puster route may also be regarded as an eastern arm of the Brenner, being balanced on the west by the continuation of the Via Claudia Augusta from Bozen. Similarly, from the northern section of the Brenner two arms diverged at Veldidena, a shorter leading westward to the Fern Pass to meet the Via Claudia Augusta, a much longer—77 Roman miles (114 kilometers) in length, with four stations—leading northeastward to Pons Aeni (Langenpfunzen, near Rosenheim, on the Inn). There it connected with Augustus's road from Augusta Vindelicum to Iuvavum (Salzburg).

Thus, in a very real sense, the Brenner Pass itself, extending from Verona via Trent, Franzensfeste, Vipiteno, and Innsbruck to Augsburg, was the central line from which many roads branched. It always remained the most direct route from Italy to Germany. Beyond Innsbruck it crossed the Seefeld Saddle to Parthanum (Partenkirchen), where it forked; two almost parallel lines reached Augsburg, the western via Abudiacum, just below where the Via Claudia Augusta met it, the eastern via Ad Pontes Tessenios (Murnau). Its entire length is reckoned in the Antonine Itinerary as 289 Roman miles (427 $\frac{1}{2}$ kilometers), with ten stations; on the Tabula Peutingeriana its length is given as 291 Roman miles (430 $\frac{1}{2}$ kilometers), with fifteen stations.

The major part of Dr. Cartellieri's task was to trace these various roads from their beginnings in Italy to their termini on or near the Danube, to locate upon them all stations known from the Roman Itineraries, and to identify existing remains of these stations, whether castles or towns, with their modern representatives—in a word, to explain the history and the meaning of these routes. He has also devoted much space to a historical survey of the larger Roman commercial centers on them—Verona, Aquileia, Altinum, Tridentum, Veldidena, Augusta Vindelicum—which gives us a fascinating picture of the culture in Roman days of this little-known Alpine region. Since he finds the study of Roman roads in the Alps still "in den Kinderschuhen"—real progress has been made so far only in Bavaria, Tyrol, and Carinthia—he has also endeavored by his method of treatment to indicate where

further investigation is needed. In short, his work aims to be one of "der unzähligen kleinen Bausteine" in the great edifice yet to be erected of Roman Alpine road-construction.

The work is so compactly and so unpretentiously done that it is hard to estimate the immense labor involved in the tracing of these routes, section by section, known or assumed. All available material, archaeological and literary, has been laid under contribution. The literary material ranges from inscriptions concerned with the routes (they are found chiefly on milestones and on rock-walls)², Roman Itineraries³, and countless citations from classical authors all the way to modern monographs⁴. Repeated visits to the region involved were of course necessary; so too was the study of little-known local documents in the libraries of Innsbruck and Munich. An addendum contains lists of all known Roman stations, the distances between them, and modern representatives of them, and of all milestones, their locations and dates. A geographical index makes it easy to find the corresponding discussions in the text. The eight plans at the end, seven sectional and one general, contribute to an easy understanding of the book.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the book to the general reader is the historical sketch prefixed to each of the three main divisions, a sketch intended to show the antiquity and the use of each route. A brief summary will make this clear.

As the Plöcken Pass connected the valleys of the Tagliamento and the Gail—the latter is a tributary of the Drave—it is reasonable to suspect that this pass was used in very early times. The great number of exchange objects found at Gurina in the Upper Gail Valley shows the magnitude of the prehistoric traffic between the Veneti and the Carinthian Illyrians. That the Plöcken Pass was the highway of this early traffic is proved by the discovery of two Venetian rock-inscriptions near its summit. Later Bronze Age objects have been found in the Puster Valley section of the route, near Vintl, on the Rienz. When the Celts began to overrun the Alpine and the Po Valleys, at the end of the fifth century B. C., they conquered the Illyrians and replaced the older Hallstatt culture with their own La Tène culture. The presence of Gallic silver coins in Gurina shows that this old Illyrian town became Celtic. The two neighboring towns of Aguntum and Teurnia (St. Peter im Holz) were flourishing Celtic centers. The finding of Egyptian, Greek, and

²These inscriptions are to be found in Volumes III and V of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Volume III (Berlin, 1873) gives *Inscriptiones Asiae, Provinciarum Europae Graecarum, Illyrici Latinae*; Volume V (Berlin, 1882) presents *Inscriptiones Galliae Cisalpinae Latinae*. See also F. Vollmer, *Inscriptiones Bavariae Romanae* (Munich, 1915).

³See especially the *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum*; of the end of the third century, in the edition by G. Parthey and M. Pinder (Berlin, 1848); Konrad Miller's editions of *Die Peutingerische Tafel*, *Oder Weltkarte des Castorius* and of *Itineraria Romana* (both published by Strecker and Schröder, Stuttgart, 1916); and *Itineraria Romana, Volumen Prius, Itineraria Antonini Augusti et Burdigalense*, by Otto Cuntz (Leipzig, Teubner, 1929. Pp. viii + 139).

⁴On the Brenner Pass see O. Wanka von Rodlow, *Die Brennerstrasse im Altertum und Mittelalter* (*Pragerstudien aus dem Gebiet der Classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, 7 [Prague, 1909]); P. H. Scheffel, *Die Brennerstrasse zur Römerzeit* (Berlin, 1912), and *Verkehrsgeschichte der Alpen*, I, *Alttertum* (1908). On the Via Claudia Augusta see Chr. Frank, *Altstrassen* (*Deutsche Gau*), *Zeitschrift für Heimatforschung*, Sonderheft 78 (1908), 18.

even Cypriote coins in the region between the Save and the Drave shows the international character of Celtic trade. With the foundation of Aquileia in 181 B. C. the Romans began to appear in the Eastern Alps. In the middle of the second century B. C. they were attracted thither by the gold mined by the Taurisci, whom they soon drove out of the Drave Valley. The defeat of the consul Carbo at Noreia somewhere in Carinthia in 113 B. C., however, directed the attention of the Romans to the military use of the Plöcken Pass and the neighboring passes. But no Roman writer mentions the Plöcken Pass, and its later history is known to us only through rock-inscriptions found on the south side of the pass (the earliest dates from the close of the second century A. D.). The Puster section had a military road as early as 69 A. D., though the milestones found in the valley all date from the time of the Severi, when a carriage-road was built over the Plöcken Pass. As late as 373 the Emperors Valens and Valentinian repaired this road. When Aquileia fell before Attila in 452, the route became important only locally. In 565 a poet of Ravenna, Venantius Fortunatus, in a poem dedicated to St. Martin, described his journey over the Plöcken Pass and over the Brenner on his way to Tours. In the Middle Ages the pass was known as Monte Croce.

While the Reschen-Scheideck Pass—hitherto the least known of Roman Alpine passes—is shown by finds to have been in use in the Bronze Age, our definite knowledge of it begins only with the construction of the Via Augusta Claudia, which ran over it. The name and the date of this important road are known to us only through the chance discovery of two inscribed milestones. One was found in 1552 at Rabland, near Merano, the other in 1786 in a Church near Feltre. In almost identical language they state that Claudius built the road in 46-47. The better preserved stone, that from Feltre, states that he constructed (*munivit*) from Altium to the Danube viam Claudiam Augustam quam Drusus pater Alpibus bello patefactis derexerat⁴. So Drusus, after subjugating the Rhaetians in 15 B. C., 'laid out' a new route through the Alps (he probably shortened and otherwise improved the existing mule-paths), a task which was completed, over sixty years later, by his son. The first Roman clash with the Rhaetians was in 43 B. C., when the consul Plancus fought them in the Adige Valley, but serious trouble with them did not occur till the time of Augustus. When the latter's legate captured Trent in 24 B. C., this town with its impregnable rock-fortress became the center of further operations. Augustus then seems to have converted the section of the old Brenner route from Verona to Trent, along the Val Lagarina, into a military road, and to have continued it to Merano. In 15, Augustus's step-son, Drusus, and his brother Tiberius ended Rhaetian independence, and the Brenner Pass and side passes were now open. Augustus, or Drusus at his command, founded Augusta Vindelicum to be the military and commercial center of the conquered territory, the capital of the future province

⁴See *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 5.8002. For the stone found at Rabland see *ibidem*, 8003.

of Rhaetia. Why Drusus 'laid out' a new commercial and military route to it across the Reschen-Scheideck Pass instead of utilizing the more direct route existing along the Brenner Pass cannot now be determined. Drusus also probably improved the mule-track along the Brenner.

The story of the Brenner Pass itself is even more interesting. In neolithic times its entire course through the Tyrol was occupied by settlements, a fact which indicates early local traffic⁵. At the medieval settlement of Brixen below Franzensfeste huge prehistoric fortification works have been found. In the Bronze Age traffic was distributed over many neighboring passes, not only the Brenner and Reschen-Scheideck, but the Jaufen (6870), Penserjoch (7250), Mendel (4475), and Wormserjoch or Umbrail (8240), as is proved by the finding of bronze objects on them all. Etruscan inscriptions and objects of art, dating from the beginning of the fifth century B. C., when the Etruscans were ruling North Italy, have been found all along the Brenner Pass, though, as Dr. Cartellieri says, the extent, duration, and importance of Etruscan commerce with the North have been exaggerated⁶; the Bronze Age in Germany was essentially unaffected by that commerce.

The Celts ended Etruscan traffic, and the Brenner Pass again became only a local route. Celtic arms, coins, and ornaments have been found from Lake Garda and Verona up through the Adige Valley, as well as in the Sugana and Puster Valleys. By the middle of the second century B. C. the Romans used the Brenner Pass, as is shown by the finding of old Roman money in Trent. This is additional proof, if any were still needed, that of the four passes known to Polybius in that century (according to the testimony of Strabo 4.6.12) the 'pass into Rhaetia' was the Brenner Pass. The first army to ascend the Adige was that of Catulus, moving against the Cimbri. This army marched both along the Brenner and along the Reschen-Scheideck routes. Few Greek and Roman coins of the time of the later Republic have been found on the section of the Brenner Pass from Bozen to Vipiteno via Franzensfeste. More have been found on the stretch of the Via Claudia Augusta from Bozen to Merano and hence over the Jaufen Pass to Vipiteno. This fact shows that the road along the Eisack was at that period avoided for the alternate route along the Adige. Augustus built Veldidena and the Pons Aeni branch, and may have improved the main road from Bozen to Veldidena, even if none of the milestones recovered there bears his name. With the completion of the military Via Claudia Augusta the Brenner route fell to the level of a quiet commercial road. But, when trouble arose with the Marcomanni in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the military possibilities of the Brenner route were sensed. Finally, between 195 and 215, Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla converted the old foot-path into a great military road, and at the same time rebuilt the road through the Puster Pass. This work, extending

⁵See the map in O. Menghin, *Archäologie der Jüngeren Steinzeit Tyrols*, in *Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde* 6.12 (Vienna, 1912).

⁶Especially by C. H. Genthe, *Ueber den Etruskischen Tauschhandel nach den Norden* (Frankfurt am Main, 1874).

over twenty years, was a great engineering feat, a continuous struggle with rock and snow, and, on the pass itself, with primeval forests and morasses. Now the Via Claudia Augusta fell into disuse; it is not mentioned in any Itinerary after the Antonine. Throughout the later Empire, then, the Brenner was the military highway from the Po to the Danube. The last ancient notice of it appears in the eighth-century Historia Gentis Longobardorum, by Paulus Diaconus.

Enough has been said to show the scope of Dr. Cartellieri's book, and to prove that it is of interest to a wide range of students—philologists, historians, geographers, and orographers. It should also appeal to a still wider circle of readers, that is to all lovers of the Alps who are interested in their past.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA WALTER WOODBURN HYDE

Quotations from Classical Authors in Medieval Latin Glossaries. Collected and Annotated by James Frederick Mountford (= Cornell Studies in Classical Philology XXI). New York: Longmans, Green and Co. (1925). Pp. 132.

Medieval Latin glossaries contain many citations from classical and Silver Latin authors. This is especially true of the great collection known as the Liber Glossarium¹. What is the source of these particular items? Goetz² thought that they came from some huge earlier glossary; Wessner³ agreed, and attempted to show how the compiler of this earlier glossary had gathered his material. Professor Mountford urges that it is not necessary to "call in a shadowy compiler as a 'deus ex machina'". He believes that the items came from Vergil-scholia "by way of the Abstrusa-glossary⁴ at a time when that glossary was extant in a much fuller form" than at present.

The present volume is a statement of this thesis and a presentation of evidence in its support. About the theory there may well be at least two opinions⁵; of the evidence we may say that it is valuable in itself, irrespective of its application to the theory. To read it is to learn the way of a scholiast with a citation, and to see to what base uses classical authors were put in the Middle Ages. But there is more; Professor Mountford's notes are not restricted to showing how the citations fit his theory. There are admirable *obiter dicta*. One quotation may suffice. On page 113, after noting that even in the classical period the words *lacto* and *laetoo* seem to have been confused, he adds,

...At the very least, we should say that soon after the end of the classical period the distinction became so uncertain that commentators and grammarians (and

¹See volume 1 of *Glossaria Latina* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1926. This volume was edited by W. M. Lindsay, J. F. Mountford, J. Whatmough, F. Rees, R. Weir, and M. Laistner).

²See his monograph, *Der Liber Glossarum*, in *Abhandlungen der Königlich Sachsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 13 (Leipzig, 1891).

³In *Glossaria Latina*, 1.

⁴The 'Abstrusa-Glossary' (Paris Ms. 2351, [c]) was published in 1926 as volume 3 of *Glossaria Latina* (see note 1, above). The editors of this volume were W. M. Lindsay and H. J. Thomson.

⁵Wessner has reiterated his own opinion in a review of Professor Mountford's book which is virtually a debater's rebuttal. See *Philologische Wochenschrift* 46, 1338-1352. Wessner is just, and extremely systematic, but he does not seem to me to have demolished Professor Mountford's theory.

consequently the scribes and correctors of manuscripts floundered. So far then from gaining anything by emending...we should probably only achieve a fictitious and misleading distinction between the words....⁶

BROWN UNIVERSITY

BEN C. CLOUGH

CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

V

American Historical Review—October, Review, favorable, by W. S. Ferguson, of J. B. Bury, *Selected Essays*, Edited by Harold Temperley; Review, favorable, by Harold N. Fowler, of J. G. O'Neill, *Ancient Corinth, with a Topographical Sketch of the Corinthia: Part I, From the Earliest Times to 404 B. C.*; Review, mildly favorable, by A. E. R. Boak, of Ettore Pais, *Histoire Romaine: Tome I, Des Origines à l'Achivement de la Conquête, 133 avant J.-C.*; Review, very unfavorable, by W. A. Oldfather, of Emanuele Ciaceri, *Cicerone e i suoi Tempi: Volume II, Dal Consolato alla Morte (a. 63-43 a. C.)*; Review, favorable, by J. W. T., of Charles Henry Beeson, *Lupus of Ferrières as Scribe and Text Critic: A Study of his Autograph Copy of Cicero's De Oratore*; Review, favorable, by Walter Woodburn Hyde, of Paul Brandt, *Schaffende Arbeit und Bildende Kunst*.

American Political Science Review—August, Long review, favorable, by John Dickinson, of G. H. Sabine and S. B. Smith, *On the Commonwealth*, by Marcus Tullius Cicero [this book is mainly a translation of Cicero, *De Re Publica*].

Association of American Colleges Bulletin—May, The Impersonal Oxford, H. P. Perkins [this article, reprinted from *Scientific Monthly*, April, 1930, includes a discussion of the importance of the Classics at Oxford. "Oxford is even more strongly convinced now than it was a century ago that the highest type of university training, and the only type which does justice to men of real capacity, is an intensive study of the classics"].

Bibliotheca Sacra—July, Review, favorable, by Hugh G. Bévenot, of Friedrich Stummer, *Einführung in die Lateinische Bibel*.

Bookman—September, Appreciative notice, by Lynn Anderson, of Gilbert Seldes, *Aristophanes' Lysis-trata, a New Version*; October, Twenty Centuries of Virgil, George Norlin ["If one were to compress into a few words the collective judgement of scholars and writers at the close of the <nineteenth> century, one would say something like this: Virgil is a cultivated poet, a child of the Greek genius, but he is at the same time thoroughly Roman, and has distilled into his poetry the best that was in Roman life and character"].

Catholic Historical Review—October, Review, favorable, by Martin R. P. McGuire, of Richard Laqueur, *Eusebius als Historiker seiner Zeit*; Brief review,

⁶An article which deserves to become the *locus classicus* on disputed diction in classical Rome is Dr. E. S. McCartney's paper, *Was Latin Difficult for a Roman?*, in *The Classical Journal* 23 (1927), 163-182. By the expression "disputed diction" I mean matters of usage, especially of single words, as distinct e. g. from matters of syntax.

- favorable, by Martin R. P. McGuire, of G. Bardy, *Littérature Latine Chrétienne*.
 Contemporary Review—October, Short review, favorable, of A. J. Butler, *Sport in Classic Times*.
 Dalhousie Review—October, Vergil, E. W. Nichols.
 Educational Record—October, To the Scholars of America, Benito Mussolini; Vergil and the Modern World, Nobile Giacomo de Martino [a message from Mussolini and an address by the Italian Ambassador delivered "at the Convocation of the George Washington University, held in recognition of the bimillennial celebration of the birth of Virgil, October 15, 1930"].
 English Historical Review—October, Review, slightly unfavorable, by A. B. K., of Sir Aurel Stein, *On Alexander's Track to the Indus*; Short notice, mildly favorable, by H. H. E. C., of *Palaeographia Latina, I-VI*; Short notice, generally favorable, by E. A. L., of *Exempla Scripturarum Edita Consilio et Opera Procuratorum Bibliothecae et Tabularii Vaticanani: First Fascicule*; Short notice, favorable, by R. H. M., of Norman H. Baynes, *Bibliography of the Works of J. B. Bury*.
 The Hound and Horn—October-December, Long review, favorable, by Richard McKeon, of Étienne Gilson, *Introduction à l'Étude de Saint Augustine*.
 Illustrated London News—September 13, "Crowning Results" of Restoration Work at Knossos: Griffin Frescoes of the Throne Room and Wonderful Painted Stucco Reliefs of Bull-hunting on the Northern Portico, Sir Arthur Evans [with seven photographic illustrations]; Somersaults over a Charging Bull: Girl Acrobats of Ancient Knossos; A Minoan Bath-room; and Wall Decorations Indicating Conquests [thirteen illustrations reproduced from Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos, Volume III*]; Brief appreciation of Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos, Volume III*; October 4, Splendid Minoan Art: A Painted Ceiling; "Grand Stands" in Fresco; Knossos the "Versailles" of Minoan Society: Frescoes and Ivories [eight reproductions, four in color, of illustrations appearing in Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*]; A Great Discovery of Roman Glass: Unprecedented Treasures Found at Cologne; Evidence of an Important Glass-making Industry there under the Roman Empire, Dr. Fritz Fremersdorf [with twenty-nine illustrations]. "The discoveries <recently made> at Cologne...are held to prove that in Roman times the city...was one of the chief centres of the glass-making industry in the Roman Empire"]; October 18, A Great Discovery of Prehistoric Culture: Remarkable Results of Excavations at Vinca, near Belgrade; A Centre of Aegean Civilization in the Second Millennium B. C., Miloje M. Vassits [with twenty-two photographic illustrations]. "The settlement at Vinca thus had an uninterrupted existence from about the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age in the Aegean down to the conquest of the region by the Romans; that is to say, about 6 A. D."].
 Isis—October, Prospectus for a Corpus of Medieval Scientific Literature in Latin, L. Thorndyke; Review, favorable, by G. Sartin, of Paul Tannery, *Mémoires Scientifique: IX, Philologie, 1880-1928*.
 Literary Digest—October 18, Whitewashing Nero [Summary of an "article based on Arthur Weigall's recently published 'Nero, The Singing Emperor of Rome'"]; November 1, Vergil's Vogue To-day [with two photographic illustrations]; November 8, Finding American Prototypes in 180 B. C. [with three photographic illustrations. "A modern German finds a parallel between these <modern> Americans and the men of Pergamos; and the ancient altar reerected in the new Pergamene Museum in Berlin is the symbol"]].
 Mercure de France—October 15, Virgile, Mario Meunier.
 Musical Quarterly—October, Vergil in Music, W. Oliver Strunk ["Musicians have probably made one of the largest contributions to the interpretation and criticism of the poet Vergil....An almost uninterrupted sensitiveness to Vergil on the part of musicians may be traced through nearly ten centuries of musical art. During certain periods, indeed, Vergilian music was decidedly in vogue"]. The article endeavors "to enumerate certain representative examples of Vergilian music, singling out a few particularly typical specimens for more detailed discussion".
 National Geographic Magazine—October, The Perennial Geographer, W. Coleman Nevils ["After 2,000 Years Vergil is Still the Most Widely Read of Latin Poets—First to Popularize the Geography of the Roman Empire"]. This is a popular article on Vergil's life and works, with twenty-nine photographic illustrations].
 National Research Council, Reprint and Circular Series—Number 93 (1930), Guide Leaflet for Amateur Archaeologists [issued under the Auspices of the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys, Division of Anthropology and Psychology, National Research Council].
 New York Times Magazine—September 14, Along the Paths That Vergil Followed, Edward A. Jewell; November 2, In Rome, Old and New Emerge Together, Edward A. Jewell.
 Nuova Antologia (Rome)—September 16, Chateaubriand e Virgilio, Arturo Farinelli.
 Nineteenth Century and After—October, Virgil's Bimillennium, John Sparrow [this essay on the permanent worth of classical studies in general and of the fame of Vergil in particular closes with the prophecy that "2000 years hence it is possible that Virgil will still live—but only in translations, and only by means of the artificial respiration so often practised upon his works to-day: the breathing into them of a spirit alien to that of their creator"]; The Letters of Nausicaa, L. S. Amery [I. How the *Odyssey* Was Written: A Fantasy; II. Salving Homer's Epics: The Last Phase. Both I and II are long imaginary letters addressed by Nausicaa to Hermione].